

# **Indigenous Australians' Attitudes Towards Multiculturalism, Cultural Diversity, 'Race' and Racism**

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## **Abstract**

*There is a perception that Indigenous Australians are uneasy with or distrustful of multiculturalism. Such unease has been attributed to the problematic positioning of Indigeneity within immigrant focused concepts of multiculturalism and its associated policies in a settler society. What are the attitudinal implications of this concern? There has been scant research on Indigenous Australians' attitudes to cultural diversity. Nationwide survey findings reveal that despite perceived concerns with multiculturalism, Indigenous people are not uneasy with cultural diversity as such. In fact, Indigenous respondents are largely supportive of diversity, which is one of the central tenets of multiculturalism. In most respects their attitudes on cultural diversity and views on old racisms are similar to those of non-Indigenous Australians. Indigenous Australians are, however, more likely than non-Indigenous Australians to recognise the problems of racism generally and Anglo-Celtic cultural privilege.*

## **Indigenous Australians, multiculturalism and cultural diversity**

Since the implementation of multicultural policies in Australia in the early 1970s, and immigration policies encouraging a culturally diverse population, there has been little scholarship on Indigenous peoples' perspectives and responses to such policies. Under the umbrella concept of cultural diversity, Indigenous Australians are assumed to be one ethnic group amongst a myriad of ethnic groups in Australia who have equal opportunity and equal claims to belonging (Curthoys 2000: 29; Read 2000: 57-81; van den Berg 2002: 130-131)<sup>1</sup>. Contrary to this all-inclusive positioning, Indigenous and multicultural discourses are in fact quite different. The political position of Indigenous Australians is perceived as "revolv[ing] around the cleavage between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples" particularly within the context of colonisation and such issues as land, health, heritage, identity, education and forced removal of children in a settler society (Curthoys 2000: 21). Immigrant discourse, on the other hand, centres on non-Anglo background immigrants' "challenge to Australian society at large" and focus on cultural diversity, ethnic politics and immigration policy (Curthoys 2000: 21). Whilst such research foci correctly reflect the very different histories and experiences of Indigenous and immigrant Australians, the relationship between Indigeneity and ethnic-relations has been largely overlooked (Cohen 2003; Hage 1998: 24).

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<sup>1</sup> It is acknowledged that this positioning of the Indigenous within the rubric of multiculturalism is problematic and this will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Scholarship which has sought to bridge the gap between Indigenous issues and ideas of multiculturalism has long noted that Indigenous Australians are uneasy with their inclusion within multiculturalism (Castles 1997: 16; Curthoys 2000: 29; van den Berg 2002), especially the underlying assumption that they are simply another ethnic group. This denies the specifically different situation and experiences of Indigenous Australians, namely their position as the original inhabitants, their history of dispossession and genocide<sup>2</sup>, and continued connection to the land (Curthoys 2000: 30). Thus, following an exploration of perspectives on racism and multiculturalism amongst Nyoongar people of Western Australia, van den Berg (2002: 160) concluded that:

...it seems that most of those Nyoongar people interviewed do not embrace the policies of multiculturalism, for the simple reason that the majority of Nyoongars feel that they are being ignored by the state and federal governments and are being labelled as ethnic by the broader Australian society. They believe that the dominant culture is trying to obliterate their status as the Indigenous people of this country.

As van den Berg (2002) suggests and others such as Curthoys (2000), Dunn et al. (1998), Morrissey and Mitchell (1994), Fesl (1991) and Jordan (1986) support, tensions surrounding Indigenous people and multiculturalism stem from complications involved in situating Aboriginal identities within a policy of cultural pluralism which, for many, displaces Indigeneity by reducing it “to the status of ‘just another ethnic group’” (Morrissey and Mitchell 1994: 111). While the meaning of the term ‘Indigeneity’ is contested, and the appropriateness of its use varies<sup>3</sup>, the term ‘ethnic’ is not applicable to Indigenous people because of its ongoing association with immigrant identifications in the Australian context. The use of the term ‘ethnic’ in reference to Indigenous Australians therefore neglects their unique position as the First Australians. Moreover, some have argued that the inclusion of Indigenous people within multiculturalism works to consolidate the privilege of the (Anglo) settler society, positioning both ‘ethnic’ and Indigenous people as inferior citizens or as problems to be dealt with (Hage 1998: 16-17, 24). Therefore there is, as Curthoys (2000) terms it, an ‘uneasy conversation’ between Indigenous issues and multiculturalism.

This ‘uneasy conversation’ has also developed owing to the tension between multiculturalism and the Indigenous claim to self-determination. There is general agreement amongst scholars of Indigenous issues that the (collective) right of self-determination is central to Indigenous citizenship within the nation-state context (for example see Daes 1996; Green 2005; Maaka and Fleras 2000; Mercer 2003; Merlan 2009). According to this discourse, a single nation-state can accommodate Indigeneity within its national identity and bring together the duality of Indigenous citizenship if relationships are forged between mostly non-Indigenous and Indigenous decision makers that are based on mutual recognition and respect (Maaka

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<sup>2</sup> See Moses (ed.) (2000) and Moses (2004) for discussions of Indigenous genocide in Australian history.

<sup>3</sup> See Shaw, Herman and Dobbs (2006) as well as Merlan (2009) for discussions.

and Fleras 2000; Mercer 2003: 437-8). Self-determination encompasses cultural, political, economic, and legal content (Green 2005: 335). It refers to the inherent right of Indigenous peoples to continue governing their own affairs, and embodies the notion of structural reform within the settler state (Daes 1996). However, most discussions of multiculturalism anticipate a pluralist state, which render notions of “Indigenous nationhood unviable”, or merely celebrate Indigeneity as a quaint culture of the past to be dusted off at the opening ceremonies of conferences and events (Lawrence and Dua 2005: 129-132). Writing from the perspective of Indigenous peoples in Canada, Lawrence and Dua (2005: 121,134) observed that Indigenous people risked becoming smaller and paler islands within a multicultural sea: “[a]lways present, Native eyes watched each wave of newcomers – white, black, or Asian – establish themselves on their homeland” (Lawrence and Dua 2005: 134). Policy discussions about multiculturalism and immigration are therefore especially problematic for Indigenous people who, while recognising the problems experienced by immigrants and other ‘people of colour’, were also aware of these immigrants as settlers. Along with the ‘first settlers’, more recent arrivals continue the process of settling on lands that were appropriated from Indigenous peoples. It is largely as a result of these concerns, that scholarship and policy on Indigenous and multicultural affairs have been maintained as separate spheres in Australia (Curthoys 2000: 21-22). This separation is not universal, with intermittent attempts to bridge this divide, from both scholarship (Allbrook 2001; Cohen 2003; Curthoys 2000; Paradies et al. 2009; Vasta & Castles 1996: 51) and policy (Victorian Multicultural Commission (VMC) 2009) viewpoints.

This paper brings much-needed empirical evidence to this debate by considering the extent to which the abovementioned concerns or unease with multiculturalism among Indigenous Australians translates into an intolerance of cultural diversity. Does this translate into Indigenous Australian hostility towards new immigrant groups? Does the on-going experience of dispossession translate into a hard heartedness or a lack of sympathy towards other racialised groups in a settler society such as Australia’s? Saxton (2004) has found that Indigenous youth are especially critical of non-Indigenous attitudes, sceptical of reconciliation gains to date, and insistent that non-Indigenous Australians should show a greater level of respect towards Indigenous people and culture<sup>4</sup>. As a young Indigenous respondent explained:

I think what’s happened is that someone has picked up the whole reconciliation thing, whether that is the treaty thing or the Mabo thing, I don’t know, and so I think a lot of things are hyped as well. And I think, with the Australian people, they’ve all got on this sorry thing and I don’t actually believe it is in the right attitude. I don’t really believe that a lot of Australians really truly know how the Aboriginal and Indigenous people were affected (Marie as quoted in Saxton 2004: 19).

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<sup>4</sup> Among 617 Indigenous respondents surveyed in 2008 for Reconciliation Australia, only 29 per cent agreed that Australians in general were respectful of Indigenous culture, 80 per cent agreed that a lack of respect for Indigenous people was a very important contributor to Indigenous disadvantage (Reconciliation Australia 2009).

However, such concerns raised by the young Indigenous respondents in Saxton's (2004) study were not framed within the broader context of multiculturalism and did not specifically focus on attitudes towards any specific non-Indigenous group (newly arrived immigrant or otherwise). Therefore, extending the work done by Saxton (2004) and van den Berg's (2002) study of Nyoongar attitudes towards their positioning within multiculturalism, this study provides empirical evidence about whether there is an Indigenous wariness of cultural diversity and sharing of the land. Alternatively, do Indigenous Australians have an especially critical and informed position on racism and on the need for anti-racism? Investigating how Indigenous Australians view diversity is an important step in realising the possibility of developing collectively agreed and inclusive positions on national identity and cultural recognition in a culturally diverse settler society.

The attitudes of powerful and influential cultural groups have usually been the primary focus of examinations of inter-communal relations, and the attitudes of less powerful groups have been somewhat neglected. This is because the intolerant attitudes of privileged groups have a stronger likelihood and impact when converted into oppressive acts. This was most sensationally witnessed during the 'Cronulla Riots' in the southern suburbs of Sydney in December 2005. During these riots, 'white' (mostly Anglo background) youth protested, criticised and attacked Australian youth of Middle Eastern background<sup>5</sup> (Noble 2009; Poynting 2006).

Overall, Indigenous Australians are not a culturally privileged group in Australia (Castles 1997: 16; van den Berg 2002: 220). Indeed, they remain a recognised out-group that is often differentiated against in terms of their cultural acceptability by most of the other citizens of that settler society (Forrest and Dunn 2006: 179-183; Hamilton 1990; Pedersen et al. 2005; Shaw 2000). However, the policies of multiculturalism directly effect the Indigenous population and as the First Australians, they have a claim to 'belonging' (Read 2000: 81; van den Berg 2002: xii, 221). Indigenous Australians have a strong stake in national identity and culture and are an important part of the Australian nation, its polity and identity (Castles 1997: 16; Merlan 2009: 309). As such, their views on social inclusion need to be known (van den Berg 2002: xii). An understanding of the hitherto largely neglected views of Indigenous Australians about cultural diversity and issues of national identity and racism therefore assumes particular importance in the overall understanding of Australian identity.

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<sup>5</sup> The Cronulla riots were fuelled by an insistence that the Lebanese and Middle Eastern residents in nearby suburbs were a "threat to the Australian way of life" as supposedly evidenced in the previous week's conflict with off-duty lifesavers at Cronulla beach (Noble 2009: 1). The attacks on men and women of 'Middle Eastern appearance' arguably "fed on years of media and political rhetoric about Middle Eastern crime and youth gangs in Sydney" (Collins 2009:35) and increasing public concerns about immigration (particularly Middle-Eastern immigration) because of media and government portrayals of unauthorised 'boat people' in the preceding years. This government exploitation of public concerns was most strikingly illustrated by the Tampa affair and 'children overboard' events fabricated by the Howard Liberal Government in the lead up to the 2001 federal election (Collins 2009: 29; Marr & Wilkinson, 2003). The events at Cronulla provided a shocking example of "...relatively advantaged Australians, demonstrating against people who could be considered some of the most marginalised groups in Australian society" (Noble 2009: 24).

## The Challenging Racism Project telephone-surveys

To summarise, while research has included a focus on non-Indigenous attitudes towards Indigenous people (McAllister and Moore 1989; Pedersen et al. 2004; 2005; Pedersen and Walker 1997; Shaw 2000), there has been little study of the attitudes of Indigenous Australians towards non-Indigenous Australians. The Indigenous sample from The Challenging Racism Project telephone surveys offer a unique opportunity to produce an assessment of the attitudes of Indigenous Australians to issues inherent in multiculturalism and a culturally diverse society. The surveys were carried out over a six year period (2001-2007)<sup>6</sup> and generated 12 512 valid responses. Of these, 186 were from Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people. This 1.5 per cent of the total sample compares with the 2.3 per cent of the total population who are Indigenous Australians, according to the 2006 Census of Population and Housing (ABS 2006).

The data were collected across Australia, in each state and territory with the exception of rural Western Australia. The New South Wales and Queensland samples were drawn randomly from within every second postcode, including at least one postcode from every Statistical Local Area (SLA). In the other states and the territories samples were randomly selected for each postcode from the latest available copy of the Electronic White Pages. Of the total sample, two per cent were from the Australian Capital Territory; 34 per cent from New South Wales; twenty per cent from Queensland; one per cent from the Northern Territory; eight per cent from Perth; eight per cent from South Australia; 26 per cent from Victoria; and two per cent from Tasmania. This closely approximates the relative population sizes of the states and territories. The Indigenous sub-sample comprised 80 males and 106 females; 82 of the respondents were 18-34 years of age; 83 were 35-54 years of age; 21 were 55-74 years of age; there were no respondents aged over 75. In terms of education, the majority of Indigenous respondents had completed the School Certificate or equivalent with only seventeen respondents (9.7 per cent) having no formal education. Forty respondents (21.5 per cent) were tertiary educated. Typically of such surveys, this educational profile is weighted towards the better educated, and should be borne in mind in the interpretation of the data.

This analysis makes use of responses to ten attitude questions (see Table 1 for question wording). Questions regarding 'old racism' included belief in 'natural races' (i.e., that the world is divided into separate races which are defined biologically and comprise distinct inheritable characteristics such as physical features and innate qualities), whether these 'natural races' should be kept separate, and whether there were inferior and superior 'races'. The so-called 'new racisms' (that is, perceptions of differentiation and hierarchies

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based on cultural distinctiveness and conformity rather than biological differences) were operationalised through the questions on perceptions of security with cultural difference, and judgements on the benefits or weaknesses of cultural diversity (in accordance to the definitions of 'old racism' and 'new racism' outlined by Jayasuriya 2002: 40-42). Respondents were also asked whether there were any cultural groups that did not fit into Australian society (as an indicator of any 'out-groups'), along with a question on Anglo privilege<sup>7</sup> and another on symbolic racism (personal prejudice). The analysis reported here therefore focuses on Indigenous attitudes towards contemporary aspects of racism in Australia and how these contrast with the views of non-Indigenous respondents.

### **Attitudes towards 'race' and cultural diversity**

A belief in 'race' itself – of natural and separate 'races' – was common amongst Indigenous respondents (80.0 per cent). The persistent belief in 'race' as a real and natural category of humankind is surprising given the academic demise of that concept (Hannaford 1997; UNESCO 1983). 'Race' is overwhelmingly perceived as a social construct rather than a biological given in contemporary social science (Jackson and Penrose 1993: 203; Jayasuriya 2002: 40). This is most often demonstrated by the use of quotation marks around the concept in published works. Some researchers have persuasively argued that the concept underpins racist thinking (being regarded as 'old racism' that inherently denotes inferiority) and is largely discredited (Jayasuriya 2002: 40-42; Miles 1989). Nonetheless, the concept has strong everyday meaning for many people, including those people who have historically been defined in racial terms, such as Indigenous Australians. 'Race' is a reality of life for people of colour, for those who are racialised, but it can also be a source for community organisation, political mobilisation, identity and pride (Young 1990: 311-12; see also Mohammad 1999).

Although the majority of Indigenous respondents believed that humankind is divided into 'races', the survey results indicated that the majority of them did not believe in other 'old racisms'. A small proportion (10 per cent) agreed that people of different 'races' should not intermarry and, importantly, a large proportion (91 per cent) believed all 'races' are equal. These Indigenous opinions about 'old racisms' were statistically very similar to non-Indigenous attitudes (Table 1). Overall, only about one in ten Indigenous Australians possess what could be called old racist beliefs in the need for racial separation and in the natural inferiority and superiority of different 'races'. Indigenous Australians were slightly less likely to possess these beliefs than non-Indigenous respondents, though this difference was not statistically significant. Whilst 'old racist' beliefs continue to persist in social consciousness, they are not seen as the most common currency of racism in contemporary Australian society (Dunn et al 2004: 425; Jayasuriya 2002: 42), and this is demonstrated in these results.

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<sup>7</sup> In this paper we use the terms 'Australians from a British background' and 'Anglo-Celtic' interchangeably. We recognise that people from a British background may be members of any racial/ethnic group. However, in line with popular understandings of British nationality we contend that respondents will have interpreted British as synonymous with an Anglo-Celtic background.

**Table 1: Attitudes to old racisms, cultural diversity and recognition of racism amongst Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians<sup>1</sup>**

	Non-Indigenous % Yes/Agree <sup>2</sup>	Indigenous %Yes/Agree	P-value <sup>3</sup>
<b>Old racisms</b>			
It is not a good thing for people of different 'races' to marry	12.4	9.7	0.292
All 'races' of people are equal	88.6	90.9	0.351
Humankind is made up of separate 'races'	84.1	80.0	0.142
<b>Cultural diversity (new racisms)</b>			
Is it a good thing for society to be made up of different cultures?	93.1	90.8	0.239
Australia is weakened by ethnic groups sticking to their old ways	49.5	46.6	0.491
I feel secure with different ethnic groups	89.2	90.8	0.510
Are there any cultural/ethnic groups that do not fit into Australian society?	44.1	39.4	0.215
<b>Recognition of racism</b>			
There is racial prejudice in Australia	91.4	94.9	0.091
Australians from a British background enjoy a privileged position in our society	50.4	58.6	0.045
I am prejudiced against other cultures	13.4	10.4	0.254

<sup>1</sup> Percentage values were calculated from the total number of question responses that were affirmative or negative only. All refused answers, unsure answers and answers of 'neither disagree or agree' were not used in the percentage calculations.

<sup>2</sup> % Yes/Agree include all 'strongly agree' and 'agree' responses.

<sup>3</sup> Probability (p) values were calculated using Chi Square tests with significant values being  $p < 0.05$ .

Source: The Challenging Racism Project, Attitudes on cultural diversity and racism survey, Queensland/NSW 2001; Victoria 2006; South Australia/ACT 2007; Northern Territory/Tasmania/Perth 2008.

As to the 'new racisms', Indigenous respondents were mostly (91 per cent) supportive of diversity and comfortable in the presence of different ethnic groups. However, despite such positive attitudes in these two areas, they were rather more ambivalent about multiculturalism itself. When asked if Australia is weakened by ethnic groups sticking to their old ways – a central tenet of multiculturalism – 47 per cent agreed (compared with 50 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents, an insignificant difference). Similarly, when asked if there were any cultural groups they thought did not fit into Australian

society (out-groups), 39 per cent agreed (compared with 44 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents). Chi-square analyses indicated no significant differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people as to their views about cultural diversity (see Table 1). These findings align with previous research that finds Australians to be generally supportive of cultural diversity (Ang et al. 2006; Dunn et al. 2004: 425). However, there are anxieties about cultural difference, and cultural distinctiveness, and it is thought that these relate to disquiet about the extent to which people perceive cultural diversity to be well managed. Indigenous Australians reveal some level of anxiety (e.g. 47 per cent are concerned that Australia might be weakened by 'ethnic groups sticking together', and 40 per cent nominated groups that they think do not fit in), but they are no more anxious than non-Indigenous respondents. There is nothing in our data to suggest that the causes of anxiety amongst Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians would be any different.

Those respondents who agreed that there are cultural groups that do not fit into Australian society were also asked to identify such groups. The most often mentioned out-groups identified by Indigenous respondents included people from the Middle East (31 per cent), Muslims (24 per cent) and Asians (16 per cent). The most often mentioned out-groups amongst non-Indigenous respondents similarly included Muslims (31 per cent), people from the Middle East (25 per cent), and South East Asians (8 per cent). Anti-Asian sentiment was stronger among Indigenous respondents, relative to the perceptions of non-Indigenous respondents. From these data, anti-Muslim sentiment amongst Indigenous Australians is not much different from the attitudes of non-Indigenous Australians. Given the long established historical links between some Aboriginal communities and Islam in the form of the eighteenth century Makassar traders of Celebes (now known as the Indonesian island of Sulawesi) and Afghan cameleers of nineteenth century outback Australia (Stephenson 2004; 2005), the extent of anti-Islamic sentiment amongst the Indigenous respondents may have been expected to be much lower<sup>8</sup>. A shared experience of being out-groups, both in historic and in contemporary Australia has also been seen as a potential source of affinity between Indigenous and Muslim Australians (Onnudottir et al. 2010: 58-61; Stephenson 2005: 84, 90).

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) have indicated that the number of Indigenous Australians involved in mixed marriages is increasing (from 57 per cent in 1991 to 64 per cent in 1996; ABS 2000), as are the number of Indigenous Australians of mixed descent (ABS 1998). The

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<sup>8</sup> Ongoing linkages between Indigenous Australians and Islam should not necessarily generate related levels of high tolerance amongst all Indigenous Australians. Onnudottir et al (2010: 57) have highlighted, "[w]hile some [Indigenous Australians] might be the descendants of unions between Aboriginal women and 'Makassar' seamen or Afghan cameleers, the social, cultural and community contexts of Muslim life simply do not exist for the majority." Furthermore, there are reports of increasing Indigenous affiliations with Islam in contemporary times (Morris 2007; Onnudottir et al 2010) with the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census data indicating that 0.22 per cent of the Indigenous population in 2006 proclaimed an affiliation to Islam, almost a doubling over the ten years since 1996 (ABS 2006). However, the majority of the Indigenous population continue to proclaim affiliations to Christianity (64%) and a third offer no religious affiliation or are 'non religious' (ABS 2006). Whether increasing conversion rates to Islam is influencing general Indigenous attitudes to Islam is worthy of further qualitative research.

contribution of such relationships to Indigenous tolerance of non-Indigenous ethnicities is also worthy of further investigation. Nevertheless, the data mostly show that Indigenous Australians have broadly the same perceptions on key out groups (e.g. Muslims) as other Australians. Anti-Islamic discussion, themes and representations are common in Australian mainstream media (Bedar and El Matrah 2005; Klocker and Dunn 2003; Poynting et al 2004). It is therefore little surprise that antipathy towards Muslim and Middle-Eastern Australians might be fairly similar across cultural groups in Australia.

### **Perspectives on racism**

The survey also indicated that the large majority (95 per cent) of Indigenous respondents (cf. 91 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents) perceived that there is racial prejudice in Australia. The difference between the two groups was marginally significant. The very high Indigenous awareness of racism was also reflected in their recognition of Anglo-Australian privilege. Among, Indigenous respondents, 59 per cent agreed that Anglo-Australians held a privileged position, compared to 50 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents, a statistically significant difference. These variations in opinion on the subjects of racism and privilege are consistent with Indigenous experiences of colonialism. Overall variations emerging from Table 1 are further elaborated upon in the next section. Despite the significant variation between perceptions of racial prejudice according to Indigenous status, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents were just as unlikely to identify themselves as prejudiced against other cultures.

### **Discussion: looking forward**

Overall, Indigenous respondents have revealed positive dispositions towards cultural diversity. Moreover, Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents, with some important exceptions, tended to exhibit similar views in the Challenging Racism Project surveys. The major differences were that Indigenous respondents were more likely to recognise racism and Anglo-Australian privilege. The stronger recognition of racism and privilege amongst Indigenous respondents reflects their historic and continuing experiences of racism, as demonstrated in the higher rates of reported experience of racism amongst Indigenous Australians (Dunn et al. 2004; HREOC 1991 & 2001; Mellor 2003; Paradies & Cunningham 2009; Paradies et al. 2008) and observable within the anti-Indigenous sentiment among non-Indigenous Australians (McAllister and Moore 1989; Pedersen et al. 2004; 2005; Pedersen and Walker 1997). Exposure to the injuries of racism may have produced a more critical position on, and stronger recognition of, racism as a social issue. A related explanation lies in Saxton's (2004) observations of the politicisation of Aboriginal youth and issues of respect (Reconciliation Australia 2009). This critical perspective would be associated with both the historic and contemporary injustices of dispossession. These help explain the divergence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous acknowledgment of racism and Anglo-privilege. Further data collection, perhaps using a dedicated survey of Indigenous Australians, would help confirm the trends identified here.

## **Conclusion**

Multicultural policy statements that emphasise cultural pluralism (albeit with equality of citizenship across different cultural groups) can be perceived to challenge (or sideline) the special and primary claims to belonging possessed by Indigenous peoples. In Australia, there are concerns among Indigenous people about multicultural policies and statements of multicultural identity in this regard. However, in most respects the views of Indigenous Australians on cultural diversity accord with those of non-Indigenous Australians. Views diverge, however, in that Indigenous Australians show a greater cognisance of racism and a heightened awareness of the privileges enjoyed by Anglo-Celtic Australians in a settler society. Nonetheless, this study demonstrates, for the first time, that any existing concerns about multiculturalism on the part of Indigenous Australians do not translate into any heightened hostility towards cultural diversity.

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